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IV.—*The Tauric Maiden and Allied Cults*

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THE Tauric Maiden is well known to all students of the classics because of her rôle in the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides. As a blood-thirsty form of Artemis she typifies well the ferocity of some of the barbarous tribes of Southern Russia, but the special character which she bore among her native worshippers is very obscure. A reference in Herodotus, the one play of Euripides, and the coins of the city of Chersonesus are the chief sources of our knowledge. It is the aim of this paper to examine some Old Russian material to see if the peoples to the north of the Black Sea have preserved any traditions which may throw light on her personality.

The Russian *byliny* or heroic epics contain several references to a very unreliable and treacherous character, the White Swan, Byelaya Lebed', whose name is Avdotya or Marya. We will give here a synopsis of the two *byliny* which are the most important in this connection. They are most readily accessible in English in Miss Hapgood's *Epic Songs of Russia*<sup>2</sup> (1915), and the originals are contained in any of the *bylina* collections, such as those of Kirsha Danilov or Rybnikov.

In the *bylina* of Ivan Godinovich, the hero, Ivan Godinovich, a nephew of Fair Sun Vladimir (Grand Prince of Kiev, 977-1015), desires to marry Avdotya the White Swan, the daughter of the Merchant Dmitry of Chernigov. Koshchey the Deathless is a rival suitor but is rejected. Refusing to acknowledge defeat, he pursues Ivan Godinovich, overtakes him and attacks him. In the first encounter Ivan is victorious but finds he has forgotten his dagger. Instead of assisting her husband, the White Swan helps Koshchey. Ivan is nearly overcome, but is able to conjure more powerfully than his rival. The arrow influenced by the charms rebounds and kills Koshchey. Ivan promises to marry Avdotya, after

teaching her three lessons. In these he cuts off her arms, her lips, and her feet, because her fondness for Koshchey has made these members unnecessary. Lastly he cuts off her head (Hapgood, *op. cit.* 87 ff.). Notice also the description of the White Swan in her father's house: "Upon Avdotya's head were white swans, on her left shoulder black sables; on her right shoulder sat bright falcons; on the frame of her loom perched dark blue doves, and on her loom-bench, black ravens; and her face was like the first fair snows of autumn" (Hapgood, *op. cit.* 90).

The other bylina is that of Sweet Mikhailo Ivanovich the Rover. Vladimir sent three of his *bogatyrs* ('heroes') to perform deeds of valor. Mikhailo Ivanovich was to collect tribute from Podolia the crafty and bring back a writing of submission. On his way home "he wandered by the blue sea, past warm and peaceful bays, shooting swans and geese. As he turned to leave the precipitous shore, he gazed out upon the quiet bay, and beheld a white swan floating there. Through her feathers she was all gold, and her head was covered with red gold, studded with fair round pearls. Then Mikailo drew from his bow-case his stout bow, from his quiver a burning arrow, grasped his bow in his left hand, the arrow in his right, and laid the arrow to the silken cord. As he drew the stout bow to his ear, with the burning arrow of seven ells, the cord twanged, the horns of the great bow creaked, and he would have let fly. But the white swan besought him: 'Ai, Mikailo Ivanovich the Rover, shoot not the white swan, else shalt thou have no luck for evermore!' Then the swan rose over the blue sea upon her white wings, flew to the shore, and turned into a beauteous maiden. Mikailo went to her, took her by her little white hands, by her golden ring, and would fain have kissed her upon her sugar mouth. But the fair maid said: 'Kiss me not, Mikailo Rover, for I am of infidel race, Marya, Princess of Podolia, and unbaptized. If thou wilt take me to glorious Holy Russia, to famous Kief town the royal, I will go to mother church of God, and receive the Christian faith. Then will

we take the golden crowns, and then also shalt thou kiss me if thou wilt.'” Before the wedding in Kiev, Marya and Mikhailo take an oath that if either dies, the other will enter the grave and stay there for three months. Marya dies first. Mikhailo enters the grave, overcomes the Dragon of the underworld and compels her to restore Marya to life. Soon after Tsar Vakramy Vakrameyevich carries Marya off to Volhynia. Mikhailo pursues but Marya uniformly sides with her captor, and Mikhailo is reduced to despair until the sister of Vakramey, Anna the Fair, becomes his ally, and at her solicitation he refuses to give heed to the prayers and charms of Marya and cuts off her guilty head (Hapgood, *op. cit.* 161).

The same figure may appear in the bylina of Dobrynya and Marina. Marina the Vile turns Dobrynya into a bull and in this form he destroys the cattle of his aunt Avdotya Ivanovna, who compels the witch to set him free. Later he marries Marina and kills her (Hapgood, *op. cit.* 81 ff.).

In the bylina of Quiet Dunay Ivanovich, the hero kills his wife Nastasya because she excels him in archery. Overcome with remorse Dunay Ivanovich then kills himself with the words, “Where the white swan fell, . . . there also shall fall the falcon bright.” From her blood flowed the Dniepr and from his came the Don (Hapgood, *op. cit.* 25 ff.).

The interpretation of the Russian byliny is rendered more difficult by the fact that the different singers from whom they have been collected frequently vary both the names of the characters and the details of the stories. Thus Avdotya and Marya are parallel names of the White Swan. In the bylina of Mikhailo Ivanovich she is either Marya or Avdotya Likhovidyevna, and her final lover is Vakramey or Okulyev, who carries her to the steppes or to the Land of the Saracens, Zemlyu Saratsinskuyu (Keltuyala, *Kurs istorii russkoy literatury*, Part I, Book I, 515 ff.). In the bylina of Ivan Godinovich, she is Marya, Mitriyevna, Nastasya, or Avdotya, and her home is in the Golden Horde, India the Rich, beyond the glorious blue sea, or in Chernigov. The unsuccessful rival is either Koshchey the Deathless or

Afromej Afromeyevich, etc. (Keltuyala, *op. cit.* 519 f.). The name Marya may be influenced to some extent by Marina Mniszchówna, the Polish bride of the False Dmitry of the seventeenth century, since she figures as a witch in Russian folk-poetry, but there seems little evidence that the name was at any time Mora (Death) as suggested by Miss Hapgood (*op. cit.* 272).

During the century and a half since the first discovery of the byliny in the remote communities in North Russia, scholars have endeavored to interpret their meaning. Nature myths, history, and social conditions have been invoked as keys to their interpretation, not to mention attempts to prove them borrowed from Western Europe or from the Mongols and Tatars. At the present time the generally accepted opinion is that they contain a historical basis which has been overlaid with tradition and mythology (Porfirev, *Istoria russkoy slovesnosti*, I, 49 ff.). Keltuyala (*op. cit.* 516 ff.), paying little attention to the swan character of the maiden, endeavors to group these byliny with those which describe unfaithful wives. The relation of Vladimir and Rognyeda, daughter of Rogvolod a prince of the Polovtsy, is also brought into the story. It is, however, very likely that the White Swan contains other elements than Rognyeda, Marina, and the unfaithful wife of folk-lore.

In the first place let us notice the localities mentioned in the byliny of the White Swan. It is assumed that the home of these stories is to be found in Galicia and Volhynia (Keltuyala, *op. cit.* 518). If this is true, we find that in every case the White Swan is placed nearer to the Black Sea and the steppes than is the home of the singer, and that in some versions she is definitely connected with the Tatars and the foes of Russia. Her lovers are almost always typical of some tribe, cult, or principle which is foreign to Holy Russia, and we cannot forget that in some versions she definitely declares herself to be unbaptized.

We should also mention her power of transformation. Superhuman as are the *bogatyrs*, Volga Vseslavich is the

chief hero to employ this power and he is one of the most frankly mythical of the entire group (Hapgood, *op. cit.* 3). Avdotya-Marya possesses this power of self-transformation. Not only does she appear to Mikhailo as a swan, but according to another version she does not accompany Mikhailo to Kiev but resumes her swan's shape and flies back and meets Mikhailo on his arrival (Kirsha Danilov, *Drevniya rossiyskiya stikhotvorennya*, 149).

We shall probably not be far wrong in seeing in the White Swan a faded bird-goddess, who had laid aside most of her divine characteristics when she merged in the byliny with the type of the unfaithful wife. It may well be asked whether her home was near Kiev and whether her hostility was directed against the Slavs or the Scandinavian *druzhina* of the Grand Princes of Kiev, the Russians in the strict use of the word.

The existence of such a deity may be inferred from the *Armament of Igor*. This poem, which is the oldest Russian heroic epic to be preserved by literary tradition and which can be assigned to the latter part of the twelfth century, gives us the best account of old Russian mythology that we have. This bird-goddess is by no means the smallest problem connected with the poem, which holds high rank in epic poetry for the vigor of its style and the charm of its descriptions.

The chief passage is found in verses 288 ff.: "Obida arose in the armies of the descendant of Dazhbog; stepped as a maiden on the land of Troyan; splashed with swan wings in the blue sea; splashing in the Don, she awakened the heavy times." We may note here that Dazhbog seems to have been a sun-god and that the hosts of the descendant of Dazhbog mean Russia (Porfirev, *op. cit.* 26). The identity of Troyan, which occurs several times in the poem, is still very much disputed, as is that of the poet Boyan (cf. Prince, "The Names *Troyan* and *Boyan* in Old Russian," *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* LVI, 152 ff.). Obida may well be translated as Insult, Offence, and would equal the Greek *Ἵβρις*; and cer-

tain authors such as Vyazemsky (see Magnus, *Tale of the Armament of Igor*, 80) and Rambaud, *La Russie épique*, 417, do not hesitate to see in this passage an imitation of a choral ode of Euripides. Without entering into the vexed question as to the Greek influence in the poem, we may fairly see in the maiden with her swan wings some form of supernatural being connected with Slavonic tradition.

This deity, often called Dyevitsa (the Maiden), is perhaps the female counterpart of Div, the bird of ill omen which predicts the disaster about to overwhelm the soldiers of Igor (vs. 107). Magnus, *op. cit.* 81, stresses in this connection the South Russian confusion of *yat'* and *i*<sup>1</sup>, but this should be treated cautiously since only in this word does the Igor make this confusion. Apparently also her home is on or near the Don and it is very likely that *more* ('sea') refers to the river in this poem (cf. vss. 652 and Magnus' note, p. 20).

A similar tale is told among the Tatars. Kartaga Mergän after a desperate fight overcomes Tjektschäkäi, the Swan-Woman, who has come forth to struggle with him, after he slays Kan Tongus and Erd-Aina Tjer-Kara. Victory comes after Kartaga's horses succeed in destroying the Swan-Woman's external soul (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, xi, 144, and Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, II, 524 ff.). In this narrative we notice that the hero, to reach the scene of conflict, takes a long journey across the steppes to the neighborhood of the sea, and that the word 'sea,' as in the other sources, is applied to the Volga and similar rivers (Radloff, *op. cit.* p. xii).

Apparently the byliny and the *Armament of Igor* and perhaps the Tatar legend of the Swan-Maiden all refer to the same figure. We may tentatively regard this as a winged female figure, perhaps connected with the sea and clearly baleful. Whether this means that she is a goddess of the Slavs or of their enemies may be uncertain. Finally, the centre of the deity's worship is to the east of Kiev and prob-

<sup>1</sup> *Yat'*, the Cyrillic equivalent for *ž*, becomes *e* in Great Russian but *i* in South Russian (Ukrainian).

ably along the Don and the Sea of Azov. This at once brings to mind the Virgin Goddess of the Crimea mentioned by Strabo, 308: ἐν τῇ τῆς Παρθένου ἱερὸν, δαίμονός τινος, ἧς ἐπώνυμος καὶ ἡ ἄκρα ἡ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶν ἐν σταδίοις ἑκατόν, καλουμένη Παρθένιον, ἔχον νεῶν τῆς δαίμονος καὶ ξόανον.

Herodotus is the earliest extant author to leave us a description of Scythia and the manners and customs of its people. The list of gods which he gives in iv, 59 does not seem to offer us any assistance, but in 103 he describes a form of human sacrifice among the Tauri: θύουσι μὲν τῇ παρθένῳ τοὺς τε ναυηγούς καὶ τοὺς ἀν λάβῳσι Ἑλλήνων ἐπαναχθέντες τρόπῳ τοιῷδε· καταρξάμενοι ῥοπάλῳ παίουσι τὴν κεφαλὴν. οἱ μὲν δὲ λέγουσι, ὡς τὸ σῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ ὠθέουσι κάτω (ἐπὶ γὰρ κρημνοῦ ἵδρυται τὸ ἱερὸν), τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν ἀνασταυροῦσι, οἱ δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὴν κεφαλὴν ὁμολογέουσι, τὸ μέντοι σῶμα οὐκ ὠθέεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ κρημνοῦ λέγουσι, ἀλλὰ γῇ κρύπτεσθαι. τὴν δὲ δαίμονα ταύτην, τῇ θύουσι, λέγουσι αὐτοὶ Ταῦροι Ἰφιγένειαν τὴν Ἀγαμέμνονος εἶναι. Euripides developed this in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*. In this play the victims are killed with a knife and the bodies are burned (622 ff.). He also connects the statue of the Tauric Artemis with the Artemis Ταυροπόλος and the Artemis Βραυρωνία (1453 ff.). Various other authors mention the cult, as Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii, 8, 33, but very few details are added; and we must consider the personality of the different goddesses concerned, if we would discover anything further about the cult.

There is strong evidence that at one time Iphigenia was an independent goddess. Thus Pausanias, vii, 26, 5, tells us that at Aegira the temple of Artemis contained a statue of Iphigenia: εἰ δὲ ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν οὗτοι, δῆλός ἐστιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰφιγενεῖα ποιηθεῖς ὁ ναός. Similarly Pausanias, ii, 35, 1, mentions a temple of Artemis Iphigenia in Hermione. A comparison of the different cults of Iphigenia suggests that she was a goddess of birth and fruit, chthonic in character and death-bringing (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2589). Her worship, which centred on the east coast of Greece, seems to have been similar in character to that of the winged 'Persian



Artemis' and she herself was related to the great nature goddess of primitive Greece. At an early date she coalesced with Artemis and ultimately descended from divinity to priestess and served Artemis who succeeded her as goddess. This subordination however could hardly have taken place until after the Greeks (probably Milesians) had reached the Crimea and identified the goddess Iphigenia with the Tauric Maiden (Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2593).

The relationship between the Iphigenia-Maiden and the 'Persian Artemis' is perhaps indicated by the cities which claimed to contain the original statue brought from the Crimea or to have been places visited by Orestes and Iphigenia with the statue. They include Sparta, Argos, Comana in Cappadocia, Comana in Pontus, Castabala in Cataonia, Laodicea in Syria, a city in Lydia, Aricia, and Syracuse (Pauly-Wissowa, ix, 2596).

It is difficult to explain satisfactorily the various cults of Artemis such as *Ταυροπόλος*, *Ταυρώ*, *Ὀρθία*, etc. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, 454, denies the possibility that *Ταυρώ* and such cult epithets could be borrowed from the Crimea, because the cults seem to be far earlier than the entrance of the Greeks into the Euxine. The whole discussion of these cults and their relations to Lemnos (cf. Plut. *de Mul. Virt.* 247 A, E) does not throw much light on the Tauric Maiden. Similarly the *ἄρκτευσις* of Brauron and the bear-dances are Greek rather than Pontic. There were in Greece itself certain wild cults of Artemis, such as the Artemis *Ὀρθία* of Sparta (Paus. III, 16, 9), and the Greeks found it very easy to connect these cults with the Crimea and to see in the Tauric Maiden the same goddess whom they were worshipping at home.

It would be tempting to consider the Tauric Maiden a form of the winged Artemis in view of Paus. III, 16, 8: *ἀμφισβητοῦσι δὲ καὶ Λυδῶν οἷς ἔστιν Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν Ἀναίτιδος.*<sup>2</sup> This type was known to the Greeks and appeared

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Boeotian vase on which Artemis appears with two lions and a bull and two long-necked water-birds (swans ?) [Farnell, *op. cit.* II, 522].

on the well-known Chest of Cypselus (Paus. v, 19, 5): "Ἀρτεμις δὲ οὐκ οἶδα ἐφ' ὅτῳ λόγῳ πτέρυγας ἔχουσα ἔστιν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων, καὶ τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ κατέχει πάρδαλιν, τῇ δὲ ἐτέρᾳ τῶν χειρῶν λέοντα. The same type appears also on the bronze relief from Olympia (*Olympia*, iv, pl. 38) and in Asia Minor on the sarcophagi from Clazomenae (Pottier, *Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite du Louvre*, II, p. 506).

Whether or not this was the original type of the Tauric Maiden, there can be no doubt that to the Greek inhabitants of Chersonesus she was fully absorbed in the conventional type of Artemis.<sup>3</sup> On the coins of the city she appears as a huntress with bow and spear a short chiton and hunting boots, and often with the mural crown of a tutelary deity (Minns, *op. cit.* 544). It can scarcely be doubted that human sacrifices disappeared at a relatively early date among the Greek settlers, but the Pseudo-Scymnus (*Periplus*, 834 Müller) says, (οἱ Ταῦροι) ἱλασκόμενοι τὰ θεῖα τοῖς ἀσεβήμασιν. With this possible testimony for the second century A.D. we may compare the words of Ammianus Marcellinus of the fourth century: Diis enim hostiis litantes humanis et immolantes capita fani parietibus praefigebant, velut fortium perpetua monumenta facinorum (xxii, 8). The historian here was probably describing earlier times and certainly did not refer to the civilized city of Chersonesus of his day. Apparently human sacrifice was not universal throughout South Russia, since a similar goddess whose shrine was discovered near Yalta contented herself with the jawbones of domestic animals (Minns, *op. cit.* 543, n. 7). The identification with Artemis was made by the Greeks in accordance with their custom of seeing this deity in any foreign divinity who was unmarried, a huntress, and mistress of wild animals, or a goddess of vegetation (Farnell, *op. cit.* II, 484).

Greek tradition may have preserved to us memories of other seats of the Tauric Maiden-Iphigenia-Artemis. After the death of Achilles, his spirit went to the Islands of the

<sup>3</sup> Oreshnikov protests against the application of the name Artemis to this divinity (quoted in Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, 543, n. 8).

Blest and these were later localized at Leuce, an island at the mouth of the Danube (cf. Rohde, *Psyche*<sup>5</sup>, II, 371, n. 2). While he was still supposed to be dwelling in Elysium, he received as his wife Medea (Schol. ad. Ap. Rh. iv, 814, ὅτι δὲ Ἀχιλλεὺς εἰς τὸ Ἠλύσιον πεδῖον παραγενόμενος ἔγημε Μήδειαν πρῶτος Ἴβυκος εἶρηκε· μεθ' ὃν Σιμωνίδης).<sup>4</sup> As early as the *Cypria* (c. 776 B.C.) Iphigenia was carried to the land of the Tauri, but we find no trace of her marriage with Achilles in the Greek dramatists, unless we should consider Euripides, *I.A.* 1405–1406, as an indication of the story. Furthermore, Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Pindar do not seem to know of the rescue of Iphigenia by Artemis.

According to Pausanias, I, 43, 1, Hesiod in the *Catalogue of Women* told how Artemis made Iphigenia Hecate after her death: οἶδα δὲ Ἡσίοδον ποιήσαντα ἐν καταλόγῳ γυναικῶν Ἰφιγένειαν οὐκ ἀποθανεῖν, γνώμη δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἐκάτην εἶναι.<sup>5</sup> Antoninus Liberalis, 27, tells how she lived on Leuce with Achilles under the name Ὀρσιλοχία, an epithet which is applied to Artemis herself in the form *Orsilochē* (Amm. xxii, 8, 33).

These traditions may not unfairly be said to extend the dominion of the Maiden beyond the Peninsula and to connect her with Leuce and Achilles. Dionysius Periegetes, 306–307, says:

Ταῦροί θ' οἱ ναίουσιν Ἀχιλλῆος δρόμον αἰπὺν  
 Στεινὸν ὁμοῦ δολιχόν τε καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς στόμα λίμνης.

In his commentary on this passage Eustathius quotes Alcaeus, *P. L. G.*<sup>4</sup> 48 B., Ἀχιλλεὺς δ' ἄσ Σκυθίας μέδεις, to prove that the husband of Iphigenia was not the celebrated Greek hero but a Scythian ruler who pursued her on the so-called Ἀχιλλέως δρόμος, a sand bar near the mouth of the Dniepr and long connected by the Greeks with Achilles. Wilamo-

<sup>4</sup> This union of the two Euxine figures might furnish evidence for the original home of Ἀχιλλεὺς, Ποντάρχης in the Euxine instead of the placing of Elysium there (Hirst, *J. H. S.* xxii, 250).

<sup>5</sup> This may be supported by the inscription to Achilles, probably from the Ἄλσος Ἐκάτης at the mouth of the Dniepr (Hirst, *op. cit.* xxiii, 46).

witz, "Die beiden Elektren," *Herm.* xviii, 251, note, rejects this Scythian Achilles, and Miss Hirst, "Cults of Olbia," *J. H. S.* xxii, 248, denies Scythian influence in the cult of Achilles Ποντάρχης, a very widespread cult at Olbia and throughout the Greek cities on the Euxine. On the other hand Koehler, "Mémoire sur les îles et la course consacrées à Achille," *Mém. de l'acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, iv (1826), 599 ff., argued that the cult of Achilles Ποντάρχης was essentially Scythian. Probably we are to see in it certain Scythian elements, especially as Leuce is described to us as possessing certain elements that may be attached to the Maiden.

Euripides, *I. T.* 435 ff., says :

τὰν πολυόρνιθον ἐπ' αἶαν,  
 λευκὰν ἀκτάν, Ἀχιλλῆος  
 δρόμους καλλισταδίους,  
 ἄξεινον κατὰ πόντον.

These birds played a very important rôle on Leuce and the Ἀχελλέως δρόμος with which Leuce was often confused. According to Philostratus, *Heroicus*, 248 Boissonade, they cleansed the temple each day with water which they carried from the sea on their wings. Ammianus Marcellinus, xxii, 8, 34, speaks of the *candidas aves* . . . *halcyonis similes*. The island was uninhabited; few visited it and no one remained on it after dark without danger. The birds were the temple attendants. Rohde, *op. cit.* 372, considered them heroes, and Holland, *Heroenvogel in d. gr. Mythol.* 7 ff., looked upon them as servants of the light deity (*Dienerinnen der "Lichtgottheit"*). If they came to the island along with Iphigenia, they might be easier to explain.

Herodotus tells us that Iphigenia was the daughter of Agamemnon. According to another version Iphigenia is the daughter of Helen and Theseus, born after the return of Helen from captivity in Attica and brought up by Helen's sister Clytaemnestra (cf. Paus. ii, 22, 7). It is interesting that this version is used by Antoninus Liberalis, 27, who places Iphigenia on Leuce, as we have seen.

It must not be forgotten that according to some versions Helen herself was the wife of Achilles on Leuce. Pausanias, III, 19, 11, tells how Leonymus of Croton was sent to the island to be healed of a wound and how Helen ordered him to report to Stesichorus the cause of his blindness, an order which resulted in the famous palinode of the poet. At the same time Leonymus saw on the island the shades of many of the prominent heroes. Philostratus also places Helen on Leuce (*Her.* 246 B.).<sup>6</sup> Miss Hirst, *op. cit.* xxii, 250, considers this merely an attempt to bring together the most beautiful woman and bravest man, but this may not be the entire explanation. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* 263, groups Theseus and Helen for the same reason.

Helen is the daughter of the swan (Zeus), whether her mother be Leda (*Eur. Hel.* 20) or Nemesis (*Cypria*, frag. 6 Kinkel). Although she is never represented in Greek art as a swan, the egg-born woman might easily be connected with the Maiden, since she had bird relationships. The late legend that Helen and Menelaus were sacrificed by the Tauri and Iphigenia (Ptolemaeus Chennus, 189 Westermann) probably was due to a desire for literary justice, but it may be influenced by the common confusion of deity and victim.

Finally we must mention in connection with Leuce the murder of the last of the descendants of Priam by Achilles, when a merchant had carried her to the island and left her there by request of the hero (*Philostr. Her.* 254 f. B.). Is this another trace of the habit of human sacrifice?

Reference may be made also to the pinax preserved in the Louvre representing Artemis riding on a swan. Farnell, *op. cit.* II, 533, associates this with the cults of Delos and also with the journeys of Apollo to the Hyperboreans on a swan, but this connection leads us in most versions back to Scythia and still further to the north (cf. *Hdt.* iv, 33).

The Greek accounts of the Tauric Maiden are not at all definite in their descriptions of her real character. The

<sup>6</sup> Notice also the winged boy Euphorion born to Achilles and Helen on Leuce (*Ptol. Chen.* 188 W.).

Greek custom of absorbing or neglecting foreign deities has completely civilized and naturalized this unknown goddess. The Maiden of the Chersonesus became a conventional Greek Artemis. Her influence extended, if we can equate Artemis and Iphigenia, for a considerable distance along the shore of the Black Sea, at least from the mouth of the Danube to the Don and the peninsula of Taman east of the Sea of Azov, where many earrings and pendants bearing the swan have been discovered (Minns, *op. cit.* 397). The cult was in existence at the time of the first Greek explorations, and the connection of Achilles with Leuce and perhaps with some goddess dates from the end of the eighth century B.C., the time of Arctinus of Miletus (Hirst, *op. cit.* 248). The cult continued among the Greeks until the fall of paganism, especially in Chersonesus.

This description of the Tauric Maiden as a barbaric goddess, possibly winged and connected with sea-birds, reminds us very strongly of the Swan-Maiden of the Slavs. Can we assume that this deity survived during a millennium and more without undue change? Is it likely that the folk migrations of the first millennium A.D. would leave undisturbed such a goddess?

South Russia has long been a natural passageway through which Asiatic invaders have sought to enter Europe, and this is as true today as in 2000 B.C. Despite this circumstance, the archaeological remains of South Russia show long periods of undisturbed development. Near Kiev and Poltava unbroken series can be found since the Neolithic Period. "The agricultural folk remained on the land, though they had to submit to aristocracies of warlike foreigners coming upon them alternately from the steppes to the southeast and from the forests and seas to the northwest" (Minns, *op. cit.* 193). Some of the excavations, as those at Zarubintsy, Chernyakhovo, and Pomashki, serve as links between the Scyths and the Slavs, and it may be said that the middle stretches of the Dniepr valley show a fairly steady culture. When the Slavonic language came in may

be uncertain, but the pictures of these peasants are strikingly similar to those of the present day (cf. Minns, *op. cit.* 46). The Neuri of Herodotus and possibly the Budini may be considered Slavs (Minns, *op. cit.* 105).

If it be assumed that the chief centres of the worship of the Swan-Maiden were near the shore of the Black Sea, we could easily explain the dislike which she aroused in the minds of the interior peoples. She may have been the deity of a ruling alien race or again she may have been connected with the Slavs and been hostile to the *druzhinas* of the princes, the stratum of population which the byliny especially concern (Keltuyala, *op. cit.* 360).

As we have seen, Leuce is at the mouth of the Danube, but the Ἀχιλλέως δρόμος lies at the mouth of the Dniepr, with Berezan, another island connected with Achilles, still further to the north. This is to be remembered in the interpretation of the following passage from Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *de Administrando Imperio*, 9 (III, 77 Niebuhr), in which he describes the route by which the Russians came in contact with the Empire: μετὰ δὲ τὸ διελθεῖν τὸν τοσοῦτον τόπον τὴν νήσον τὴν ἐπιλεγομένην ὁ ἅγιος Γρηγόριος καταλαμβάνουσιν, ἐν ἣ νήσῳ καὶ τὰς θυσίας αὐτῶν ἐπιτελοῦσιν διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖσε ἵστασθαι παμμεγέθη δρῦν. καὶ θύουσι πετεινοὺς ζῶντας. πηγνύουσιν δὲ καὶ σαγίττας γυρόθεν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ψωμία καὶ κρέατα, καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἔχει ἕκαστος, ὥς τὸ ἔθος αὐτῶν ἐπικρατεῖ. ῥίπτουσι δὲ καὶ σκαρφία περὶ τῶν πετεινῶν, εἴτε σφάζαι αὐτοὺς εἴτε καὶ φαγεῖν εἴτε καὶ ζῶντας ἐάσειν. The island of St. Gregory is at the mouth of the Dniepr and is very close to the old islands of Achilles. It is possible that we have here to do with a cult of the oak, but the important position held by the birds suggests that we are dealing here with the Maiden and possibly with a martial deity such as Achilles who receives the arrows. This is the view taken by Rambaud, *op. cit.* 409, and if correct, it is a most important testimony as to the continuance of the cult of the Maiden near the mouth of the Dniepr.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote in the middle of the

ninth century, and is thus almost contemporary with the oldest portions of the byliny. Fair Sun Vladimir ruled from 977 to 1015 and parts of the legends which are sung by the nameless bards are far older. We may therefore safely conclude that our oldest Slavonic sources for the Swan-Maiden are but little younger than the last of the Greek references to this deity on the north shore of the Black Sea.

It may be asked whether the Tauric Maiden and Artemis were originally one and the same deity. If we were able to connect Artemis definitely with the great goddess of Mycenaean and of Cretan civilization, we might be able to answer this question, since the Tripolye culture of South Russia seems to have certain similarities to Mycenaean civilization. Proceeding on this hypothesis, Miss Hirst, *op. cit.* xxiii, 29, conjectures that the same deity may have developed into the Tauric Maiden in the Euxine and the Artemis of Brauron in Greece. This is by no means impossible, but our knowledge of the cultural and religious changes caused in South Russia by Iranians, Tatars, etc., is still too slight to speak on such a point with certainty.

We may then in conclusion sketch briefly the history of this deity. When the Greeks first entered the Black Sea, they found on its northern shore the cult of the Swan-Maiden, a bird-goddess, probably winged like the 'Persian Artemis' and with bloodthirsty tastes. Her cult centred on the Tauric peninsula (the Crimea) and on the islands which bordered the coast to the westward. This deity was identified with Iphigenia and later with Artemis, and the name Iphigenia was used especially in reference to those sections of coast which had already been brought into connection with the heroes of the Trojan War, particularly Achilles. The cult was softened and Hellenized along the coast and died out along with the rest of paganism at the time of its conquest by Christianity. The interior tribes, never Hellenized, remembered her as an evil divinity but continued to worship her for several centuries more. Then she faded there, and as the Swan-Maiden, Marya the White Swan, she



gradually sank into the bylina tradition as a type of the unfaithful wife, the foe of Holy Russia, and in this new form she found new life during another millennium. We can therefore trace her history for nearly three millennia in Russia; and at the same time the Russian sources serve to throw considerable light upon the shadowy figure called by the Greeks the Tauric Maiden, Artemis, or Iphigenia.